



The Jewries of Eastern Europe Author(s): Solomon A. BirnBaum

Source: The Slavonic and East European Review, Vol. 29, No. 73 (Jun., 1951), pp. 420-443

Published by: the Modern Humanities Research Association and University College London, School of

Slavonic and East European Studies

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It is often assumed that the Jewish people consists of two branches —the Ashkenazim and Sephardim. That, however, is not the case. Even if we leave out of account the complex spiritual and cultural developments arising out of assimilation during the 19th and 20th centuries, there are still about a score of clearly defined Jewish groups. They are not merely secondary developments-most of them are as old as, or older than, the division between the Ashkenazim and Sephardim.

Half of these groups live in Eastern Europe, for the Jews here are not a uniform block, but consist of various Jewries with the most diverse histories. Let us enumerate them in the order of their Although very considerable portions were wiped out during the recent war, the geographical and statistical data which I shall be giving refer to the pre-war situation, because not enough is yet known in the present unstable state of affairs.

We have, firstly, the Ashkenazim in the northern regions of Eastern Europe, their southern borders extending to the Danube and the Black Sea. They are culturally and numerically the most important group. We shall not deal with them here, having already discussed them at some length in an earlier issue of this journal.¹

South of the Ashkenazim, in the Balkans, are the Sephardim. They are the descendants of those Jews in Spain who, having refused to accept conversion to Christianity, were expelled in 1492. A large number of these went to Turkey, where they settled down to several centuries of political autonomy (this term does not embrace the modern territorial conception), living an undisturbed group-life as one of the millets, or "nations," of the Ottoman Empire. When Turkey gradually lost her hold on the Balkans, the far-reaching political and cultural changes which took place in these new nationstates profoundly affected many of the Sephardic communities living in their midst. As far as numbers go, there were probably not more than 400,000 Sephardim before the recent war.

Next we have the isolated group of the so-called Mountain Jews who live in Daghestan, the East Caucasian region. Little is known of their past or present. They are perhaps the descendants of Jews

^{*} This article formed part of a series of lectures given in 1948 at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London.

1 S.E.E.R., XXV, No. 64, London, November 1946, p. 73.

who, fifteen centuries ago, left what until Parthian times had been Media Atropatene—the last remains of original Media, to-day Azerbaijan—on their flight from the persecutions of the Sassanians. Or the ancestors of the Mountain Jews may have been amongst the people whom King Khosrow Anowshirvan brought from Mesopotamia, Persia and Khorasan to guard the wall he had built in 542 from the Caspian Sea to the Caucasus. It seems that these Mountain Iews are dwindling in numbers. In 1902 a French traveller, Baron de Baye by name, estimated their number at 50,000, while in 1926, according to Soviet statistics, there were only 26,000 in the districts of Kuba, Baku and Ganja (Yelizavetpol'). As to their occupations, most of them are at present collective farmers; many, however, live and work in Baku and other towns. The Mountain Jews have their own reading-rooms and clubs of various sorts. They are gifted musicians and dancers, excellent story-tellers.

The fourth group are the Crimchaks, i.e. Crimeans. Jews have been living in the Crimea since pre-Christian times. To this nucleus were later added immigrants from various directions. Three waves of these retained their identities until the end of the 15th century: the Khazars, the immigrants from Asia and the Ashkenazim. Then an official fusion took place between them and the native, Byzantine Jewish community. It was thus that the Crimchaks originated. Immigrants who came later did not merge with this group. In 1912, the number of Crimchaks was estimated at 7,500; the census of 1926 gives 6,000 souls, showing a decrease as a result of the great famine of 1921–1922.

There is another and still smaller group descended from the Byzantine Jews. We shall call them by the Hebrew name Yevanim, which is derived from the Biblical word Yawan, the designation for Ionia, Greece. Jews had been living here ever since pre-Christian times. The modern Yevanim are only the remnant of a larger group, part of which was absorbed into the Sephardic community. They are to be met with at Salonica, Chalcis, Yanina, Arta, Zante, Crete, Prevesa, Volo, Athens and Constantinople.

Sixthly, we have a tiny group which is an offshoot from a Jewry outside the area of our present study. We shall call them *Italkians*, from the post-Biblical word *Italqi* (<*Italicus*) meaning "Italian." They live, or lived, in Corfu where they had come from northeastern Italy and, in the 16th century, from Apulia.

We turn now to three groups to whom the designation "Jewish" must be applied with a qualification. I am speaking of the Karaites,

a sect which crystallised out of various heretical movements in Babylonia from the second half of the 8th century onwards. Their idea was "away from Tradition back to the Scriptures." But in spite of this schismatic principle the resulting difference was smaller than one might think. In addition to the Scriptures there was still a big area which they had in common with the other, the so-called Rabbanite Jews. At the period in question the sect was already beginning to decline.

The biggest Karaite group to-day is that in the Crimea, where they are known to have been living since the second half of the 12th century. From the second half of the 18th century onwards this branch became the spiritual centre of the whole of Karaism. In the census of 1897 their number was given as 6,066.

An offshoot are what we shall call the Northern Karaites, who in the 14th century came to Lithuania and Poland. According to the census of 1897 they numbered rather fewer than 7,000 souls, but between the two World Wars there were only between 1,600 and 1,700.

When Russia conquered the Crimea at the end of the 18th century the Karaites managed to get classified as a separate religion, thereby escaping the discrimination and persecution the Jews were made to suffer. According to private information that has come my way, they came through the German occupation during the last war unscathed, having established good relations with the invader by passing themselves off as neither Jews nor Poles.

The ninth on our list are the Balkan Karaites. All that is left of them is a community of 200 souls, at Hasköi, Constantinople. A Karaite community has lived in this city since the first half of the 11th century.

Finally, we might mention a group which is actually beyond the borders of Judaism, the Sabbethaians or Dönmes. a sect descended from the adherents of the false Messiah. Sabbethai Sebhi (1626–1675). To save his life, he embraced Islam, and many of his followers in Turkey did the same. The designation Dönmes (the Turkish word for "converts"), which was applied to them, remained also the name of their descendants. The sect soon split The Dönmes have kept up a double existence up into three subsects. until the present day—outwardly observant Moslems, but secretly However, the sect is now in its final stage of dis-Sabbethaians. solution as a result both of secularisation and of upheavals following the First World War. When, in 1924, a transfer of populations took place between Greece and Turkey, the Dönmes asked the Greek government to refrain from sending them to Turkey, because they were of Sabbethaian origin. But their request was refused. Thus their centre, Salonica, was broken up and they were scattered throughout Turkey. Their number between the Wars was estimated at 15,000. At present their largest group is in Constantinople.

It is interesting to note that, while the old people are devout Sabbethaians and the young are secularised, those in between have without further ado readopted the Jewish religion. Hence, on the Ninth of Abh, the date of the Destruction of the Temple, they fast like observant Jews, whilst the young Dönmes take no notice, and the old ones actually celebrate it as a festival, because it was Sabbethai's birthday and, according to Jewish tradition, the Messiah will be born on that day and the fast will be turned into a feast.

II

The picture presented by the language position of East European Jewry is complex.

The language which they all employ for reading and writing is Hebrew. The term "reading" comprises the study of the Bible, the Mishna, the Commentaries on the Talmud, the whole vast range of traditional literature, and the reciting of a considerable quantity of daily prayers. The term "writing" comprises literary as well as other purposes, from letters to business accounts. Hebrew, therefore, is of very great importance in the linguistic life of the individual.

As far as phonology and style are concerned, and to a certain extent also vocabulary and grammar, Hebrew differs considerably from Jewry to Jewry.

Another language, which they also have in common with all other Jewish communities, is usually forgotten: this is Aramaic, or, more exactly, the group of Aramaic languages. The reason why these are overlooked is because they are so closely associated by the layman with Hebrew literature. Although their use is restricted, their importance is very great. Some recurrent daily prayers are said in them. Above all, the Talmud, Targum Onkelos and the Zohar are in Aramaic, and these works are much studied by wide strata of the people. The pronunciation of these languages varies considerably from Jewry to Jewry. For literary purposes Aramaic has rarely been employed since the end of the Aramaic period.

Finally, we have the languages which are used not only for reading and writing but also for speaking—languages which are learnt

in early childhood and are normally employed for conversing inside the family and outside. Each of our Jewries has its own tongue.²

The Sephardim speak Jidyó, i.e. "Jewish." Another name is Judézmo, corresponding etymologically to the English word Judaism. A third is Ladino, the oldest of the three, but now confined to the language of the Bible translation, the vocabulary of which is full of archaisms. The designation "Judæo-Spanish" is as erroneous as "Judæo-German" is for Yiddish.

The language of the Mountain Jews we shall call Tatic. Practically nothing of it was known to the learned world until 1892, when a non-Jewish Russian scholar published some texts which he later followed up by a phonological and morphological study. As all this was in Russian, which until recently was very little read by western scholars, his work was practically unknown to the West.

Tatic belongs to the Tat group of languages. These form part of the Caspian family of New Iranian and are all influenced by Turki languages. There is also a Christian Tat, spoken by Armenians as well as an Islamic Tat.

The language of the Crimchaks is of Turki stock. No research has yet been done on it.

The Yevanim have their own form of Greek. Up to now only one of their literary works has been studied.

No investigations have as yet been made into the dialects of the Italkians in Corfu. There are, or were, two. One belongs to the Venetian, the other to the Apulian group. Both were influenced by Yevanic, which died out (in Corfu) only in the course of the 19th century.

The vernacular of the Crimean Karaites belongs to the Turki family. Its native name is Chaltaï. In Hebrew they call it Leshon Qedar, i.e. something like "Tatar, Turki, Turanian." In recent times it is said to have been exposed to the strong influence of the language of the Crimean Tatars, and there has been a big loss of speech territory. By 1926 half of these Karaites were speaking Russian as their mother tongue.

The language of the Northern Karaites is called Karái, i.e. "Karaite." It appears to be of the same origin as that of the Crimean Karaites, but the difference is now so great as to make conversation between members of the two groups impossible. It is of great linguistic interest, being an example of a Turki language

² As this article is not concerned with the Ahkenazim we have not dealt here with their vernacular, the Yiddish language.

which has in some essential points completely abandoned the original Turki pattern.

The Balkan Karaites have their own form of Greek, which we shall call Karaite Yevanic. No research has been done on it.

The language of the Sabbethaians, an offshoot of the Sephardim, was Jidyó. They spoke it for three centuries, but in the course of the second half of the 19th century it gave place to Turkish. There is probably some connection between this development and the growth of secularisation.

All these tongues are written in Hebrew characters, like all other Jewish languages. There is nothing striking in that, because, while there is no connection between language and alphabet, there is coordination between religion and alphabet: thus the Christian languages are practically all written in the Latin or other branches of the Greek alphabet, and the Islamic languages in the Arabic characters.

III

The literatures of the East European Jewries are both religious and secular, the former partly in Hebrew, partly in the vernacular, the latter entirely in the vernacular. The contributions of the various groups have been unequal and diverse.

Let us first consider the literature in Hebrew.

That of the Sephardim was of great importance in the 16th century, a period of considerable spiritual and intellectual activity. It was produced by men born in Spain or who had come from there as children, or by the sons of such immigrants. To mention only a few names, there is, first of all, the great Joseph Karo (1488-1575), the author of "Beth Joseph." A compendium which he himself made from this work, was accepted by the whole of the Jewish people as the final code embodying religious observance in every sphere of life. This is the famous Shulhan Arukh. Karo was not only a systematic and infinitely exact scholar, but a mystic. one of his books he records the revelations made to him by a heavenly voice, called the Spirit of the Mishna. Another famous writer is Jacob Ibn Habib (d. 1516), the compiler of En Ya'aqobh, a work which has remained extremely popular to this day throughout the whole of Jewry. It is a collection of all the ethical, historical and mystical elements of the Talmud. Then there is Solomon Molho, a Messianic visionary, who was burnt at the stake by the Inquisition He was a pupil of the famous Cabbalist Joseph Taitasak More than a century later, the false Messiah Sabbethai of Salonica.

Sebhi lived for some time at this centre of Cabbalism. The 17th century produced the eminent Talmudic scholar Joseph Mi-Trani of Constantinople (d. 1639) and his two disciples, the brothers Hayon and Joshua Benveniste. David Conforte of Salonica (d. 1676) wrote a complete history of Jewish literature (*Qore had-Doroth*). In addition to Talmudic scholarship, philosophical, astronomical, medical and historical studies were the province of these men. Already the 17th century, and still more the 18th, sees a decline of literary activity. The 19th has hardly any new works of traditional scholarship.

The Yevanim, too, had a Hebrew literature of some importance in the 16th century. It was then that—to mention only two names —Elijah Mizrahi (1450–1525) of Constantinople, who was the Chief Rabbi of Turkey, produced his rabbinical, mathematical and astronomical works, and Elijah Capsali (d. 1555), a rabbinical scholar and historian, wrote his history of the Ottoman Empire.

The Crimchaks have produced some religious poetry.

The Mountain Jews have some liturgical and Cabbalistic manuscripts and one printed book, which was published in 1909.

The greater number of the publications of the Crimean Karaites fall under the heading Liturgy. We shall mention the names of a few 19th-century authors, such as Abraham Firkovich, an eminent scholar, who in his zeal on behalf of his sect went so far as to forge a great number of dates on genuine old manuscripts and tombstones; Judah Kukizov, who defended him when his forgeries were exposed; Samuel Pigit and Elijah Kazaz, who wrote sermons and poems, and, in addition, translated and adapted Western works.

The Northern Karaites produced one work of great importance, the "Strengthening of the Faith" (*Hizzuq 'Emuna*) by Isaac Troki (d. 1594), an apologetic and polemical book whose influence was felt even beyond the borders of the sect, in Christian Europe. With the end of the 18th century literary activity practically ceased.

The Balkan Karaites, in the 15th and 16th centuries, produced scholars like Abraham ben Judah, Elijah Bashyatzi, the author of a code which was accepted as the final authority for the Karaites, and Caleb Afendopulo. Their period of florescence ends with the first quarter of the 17th century.

The Sabbethaians, or Dönmes, kept their writings as secret as they did their lives. Their literature was presumably very small, and most of it was destroyed in the Salonica conflagration of 1917. We know of nothing in Hebrew, unless we count as literature a manuscript containing a collection of prayers, which found its way

outside their community. These prayers consist of passages from the traditional Jewish liturgy, but the pieces are cut up, scattered about, differently arranged and mixed up, and Sabbethai Sebhi figures in them as the Messiah. The manuscript dates from the 19th century. The Hebrew is spelt phonetically, according to the spelling system of Jidyó, the vernacular of the Sabbethaians, e.g. mylyh instead of mlk "king."

IV

The vernacular literature comprises, firstly, the literature in Jidyó, which, like the other vernaculars, caters mainly for the uneducated, i.e. those who cannot study the difficult traditional writings in Hebrew and Aramaic and who might even find it hard to follow the Hebrew commentaries.

A survey of Jidyó literature is to-day still virtually impossible. No research work has been done in any section of this field, on any question of detail or on any author. Not even a satisfactory article has been written about it. The same holds good of all the other vernacular literatures.

There is no catalogue raisonné of any Jidyó collection in a library. Much less is there a bibliography of all the writings in that language. We must consider ourselves fortunate in having at least a list for one library, that of Jerusalem.³ It contains about 800 names of publications and about 400 of authors. A complete bibliography would be about twice as long, for among the Jidyó books of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York there are about 400 books which are not in the Jerusalem library.

An analysis of the Jerusalem bibliography gives the following figures (including reprints): 35 translations of Biblical books, 46 commentaries on Biblical books, 10 translations of Pirqe Abhoth, 101 liturgical works, 49 ethical books and works on religious practice (mussar and halakha), and 5 Cabbalistic books. About a quarter of the books were published in Jerusalem and elsewhere in Palestine.

This literature can be divided into three main groups.

There are the Bible translations and commentaries on the Scriptures. To translate as literally as possible is the primary aim of the translator, to reproduce faithfully the *Ladino*, the inherited traditional version which is taught in the schools. These volumes do not, as a rule, contain more than one Biblical book. A whole Bible,

³ 'brhm y'ry: rsymt spry l'dynw hnms'ym bbyt hsprym hl'wmy wh'wnybrsyt'y byrwslym (Jerusalem, 1934).

however, appeared in 1739-1744. As for the commentaries, they are originals, not translations of Hebrew works.

The liturgical section, too, consists of translations. The Passover Haggadha and the Haphtara for Tish'a be-'abh are the most popular. Original prayers do not seem to exist, in contrast to Yiddish.

The ethical and philosophical section, which is not sharply divided from halakha (religious practice), contains translations of those works which had been popular in the various Jewries since late mediæval times. Examples are Měnōrath ham-Mã'ōr ("The Lamp of Illumination"), Hōbhōth hal-Lěbhābhōth ("The Duties of Hearts"), Shēbhet Mūsār ("The Rod of Correction"). There is even a translation of a work by a modern French rabbi (1894). The main original work is Moses Almosnino's Hanhaghath Haḥayyim ("The Conduct of Life"). One of the latest publications I have seen announced is Taarat Amispaxa (Tahārath ham-mišpaḥā), dealing with the religious regulations for married life, and published under the auspices of the Sosieta de Damas (Society of Ladies) in Salonica. This section also contains the oldest printed publication in Jidyó extant, a booklet dating from the year 1510 on the Shehita regulations.

Although the Cabbala played a very great *rôle* in the life of the Sephardim of those centuries, it is hardly represented in Jidyó. We might, however, mention a biography of Isaac Luria, the great Cabbalist, and the work *Likute Azoar* (*Liqqūṭē haz-Zohar* "Collectanea from the Zohar"), a compilation of translated Zohar passages, to each of which a moral is appended.

Poetry is represented mainly by translations from the liturgy, but there are a number of original poems of a topical nature. We shall quote from one of these.⁴ It is anonymous, and although the author is evidently an educated man, he writes in the popular style—a common occurrence in the various Jewish literatures. The poem dates from 1840, when, as a result of a ritual-murder libel, the rabbi and leaders of the Jews in Rhodes were thrown into prison and severely maltreated. Our poem commemorates the joy and gratitude on their release.

Let me start
 Singing this song.
 Let him who hears it sung
 Bless God.

Impisár keru a kantár esta kantiga. el ki la óii kantár ki al dió bindiga.

⁴ A. Galante: Histoire des Juifs de Rhodes, Chio, Cos etc., pp. 141-43 (Istanbul, 1935).

Like [grains on] a maize cob,
One over the other,
(Are) the miracles
He has wrought for us,
Almighty God,
The Exalted, the Extolled.
3. He is a merciful father,
God, faithful king of Jewry,
Doing miracles,
To (our) great joy
And great delight,

When that Greek, that bastard,

Wished to kill us

And to rob us.

komu la ispiga unu sovri otru

nes ki mus fizu il dió abastadu, altu i insalsadu. el es padri raxmán, di la judiríia el melex nemán, ázien maravíia, kun munca aligríia i kun gran plazér, purké il iaván il mamzér mus kižu matár mus i tamién atimár mus.

Then follows the story proper. Stanza 4 begins with the letter Aleph, the next with the letter Beth, and so on right through the alphabet—an old device in Jewish poetry going back to the alphabetical acrostic poems of the Bible.

4. Listen to what happened
In the Year 600.
In Rhodes and in Samos there
arose
Much trouble,
Stirred up by
Stefanachi, that brute
And robber-face,
That powerful enemy.
(But all ended well for us.)

uiíd lukué akuntisió in ániu di šišentus, in rodis i in sam

si inkrisió muncus apretus, kun unuz inventus di istifanaci il izbandút i kara di aidút, inimigu fuerti, xué kun gran suerti.

He, the aforementioned,
 Had to pay dearly for it.
 The duffer invited
 The consuls,
 The Firstborn of the Asses
 Was also asked.
 They banded together
 And consulted.

batér grandi li tumó il inmintadu. a lus konsulus iamó il dizmiuiadu, i tamién xué iamadu il peter xamór di lus aznus, i si aunarun i si akunsižarun.

They planned great affliction
 For Jewry.
 The Greeks raised a slanderous
 accusation
 To make trouble.
 Those we took for friends

grandi mal pinsarun pur la judiríia, i alilá alivantarun,

luz gregus, pur mandzíia. los ki mus tiníian komu amigus 430

Became foes,
Because we had sinned against
God,
Forgotten our Exile.

- 7. They made a plot to hide A Greek
 And sought to snare
 The Jews with it.
 Together very quickly
 They went to Yusuf Pasha,
 Twisted like tongs,
 They planned
 And plotted.
- "Ha, a Greek is missing,"
 They said to the Pasha,
 "We have searched much for him
 Everywhere,
 And a Greek woman who witnessed it
 Has revealed to us
 That she saw a Jew,
 An egg-peddler,
 And he had taken the unfortunate.
- 9. Oh, the unfortunate, To meet with such a fate, To be slaughtered In the ghetto! That will be done In the Jewish rabbi's home." When the Pasha heard this He was filled with fury.

si fizierun inimigus, purké al dió pikimus,

dil galú muz ulvidimus.

dierun kunsežu pur iskundér un gregu in sikretu, i buškarun di prindér a luz jidiós kun estu. a una i mui prestu xuerun ondi iusúf pašá, tuertu komu la mašá, lu imbabukarun i lu akunsižarun.

"a, un gregu pidrimus," a il pašá li diríian, "i muncu lu buškimus pur toda la víia, i una grega viríia

i éia mus diskuvrió, ki vidu un jidió di guevus kargadu, i lu tumó al malugradu.

uai dil dizdicadu
ki tal mazál tirníia
di ser diguiadu
in la judiríia.
estu si faríia
ondi il rav di luz jidiós."
il pašá ki tal sintíia,
si iincó di saníia (? maníia).

Outside the groups we have enumerated, there are very few works. Perhaps we should mention here a 16th-century commentary on the astronomical tables and calculations of Abraham Zacuto.

The Crimchaks have manuscript translations of the Bible, prayers and synagogue poetry.

Works in Yevanic, the vernacular of the descendants of Byzantine Jewry, are very scarce. There is some translated Biblical material of late mediæval times and a printed Bible translation of 1547. There are some more or less free versions of post-Biblical elegies, two original dirges, a special song-from Corfu-to welcome the New Moon Festival of Adar, some verses—from Zante—celebrating the attainment of civic equality after the fall of Venice, a poem for the Feast of Weeks, with alternating lines in Hebrew.

Among literary work in the Italkian vernacular which the Jews brought over with them from Apulia, the oldest is a 13th-century text—a translation of Hebrew elegies.

The amount of literature in Chaltaï, the language of the Crimean Karaites, is small and consists mainly of translations. There is, however, also some religious poetry, there are some grammars—both of Chaltaï itself and of Hebrew—as well as miscellaneous writings.

The Northern Karaites have in their Karái a number of Biblical books in translation, but most of these are in manuscript form. Then they have some printed books containing liturgical matter, and elegies on the death of notable personages or laments on disasters. These poems are called kynalar, which is the Karái plural of the word kyna (from the Hebrew qînâ "lamentation").

Here is one of their zemerlar "songs" (from Hebrew zemer).5 It is an allegorical hymn.

O gracious maiden, awake, Thou daughter of kings, thou lovely kyzy biil'arnin, sen suklancy!

Arise, O daughter of nobles, Sing praise to God, Sing a song on the kobuzes, Thou, most beautiful of maidens.

Remove sin by thy might, Make thy prayer to God. Arise etc.

He will redeem from this Exile, He will deliver from all trouble. Arise etc.

Wait, be patient but a little, Until he come into the presence of neginica k'el'gei koltxei alnyna. thy prayer.

Arise etc.

śeń, šiŕiń kyz, tur oiancy!

oianğyn kyzy jomartnyn! maxtav t'eńfiga sarnagyn! ir oxuğun kobuzlardan, śeń k'ork'lufak bar kyzlardan.

iazyxny k'et'argiń erk'iid'ań, koltxeiny kolğun t'eńfid'ań! oianğyn . . .

ol cyğaryr bu galuttan, ol kutxaryr bar tarlyxtan. oianğyn . . .

t'oźguń, cydagyn azgyna

oiangyn . . .

The vernacular (Yevanic) literature of the Balkan Karaites is We know of a hymn in a 16th-century prayer-book,

⁵ Tadeus Kowalski, Karaimische Texte im Dialekt von Troki, Cracow, 1929, p. 54.

some glosses in mediæval works, some portions of a Bible translation and some lines of poetry.

Of the writings in the vernacular of the Sabbethaians (Dönmes) we have the "Eighteen Regulations" given them by Sabbethai Sebhi and a manuscript containing a collection of poetry. This is three generations after Sabbethai, but Islamic influence is apparent in one place only, it seems: one of the poems has the refrain There is no God but He. Although a couple of poems are in Turkish, that is not due to Islamic influence. Even if we had no other evidence to that effect, we should know it from the mere fact that they are not written in Arabic letters, the alphabetic dress of Islamic languages. The collection does not contain folk-songs, but is the work of anonymous authors. They still use inherited Jewish material, mainly from Cabbala sources. This poetry is no longer Jewish in character and consists not merely of Sabbethaian adaptations, but of completely new creations built with old bricks. A new style has been evolved from the new contents. Suffice it to mention the stressing of a male and a female principle in God himself (not only in the world of Sephiroth, as in the Cabbala) and the emphasis placed on the non-unity of God—things quite foreign even to the Cabbala.

Here are two poems in illustration.⁶ Our translation can convey only a very vague idea of the originals, which stand in need of detailed explanation in order to become really intelligible.

Our redeemer, King Sabbethai, He is the soul of all the living, And He is in the Mystery of the i el be sod asém Sadai. divine name Shaddai. He is the soul of all the living.

Muestro goél, rei Sabetai, el ez nizmatá de kol xai,

el ez nizmatá de kol xai.

King Solomon said: I have not attained to Wisdom, The Secret of the Soul.

(?) He is the soul of all the living.

dišo el rei Selemá: no alkansí a la xoxmá. el sekreto de nesamá, (? el ez nizmatá de kol xai).

Our second specimen begins in praise of Sabbethai, because he has shown that God is not a unity.

1. King Sabbethai Sebhi is good, He showed divisibility, He is the soul of the Waw, There is no God but He.

Rei Sabetai Sevi Tav Amostró un mesutáv, Ez nesamá de la Vav, La ilai ila U.

^{*} spr syrwt wtsbhwt sl hsbt'ym. mw'tq wmtwrgm mktb yd yhyd b'wlm 'l ydy msh 'ty's. hwb' ldpws 'l ydy yshq bn-sby. —qryt spr, vol. 20, p. 243: vol. 21, pp. 133-34 (1944).

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Blessed was Yena (?).
 From the First Cause
 Two went forth in one.
 There is no God but He.

3. He is called the Holy One, Blessed be He,

About Him is glory,

He is neither coals nor flame,

There is no God but He.

He—there was nought before Him, He was in the Mystery of the Foundation.

Happy is the man who knows Him.

There is no God but He.

- All leave a sign,
 Believe in the Faith.
 Come, let us say together:
 There is no God but He.
- 5. Let Him the One, come to Her the One—
 This is our Faith and nought beside.
 Tova, 7 come and unite!
 There is no God but He.

Bendico era Iena. De el Sibá Risoná Salieron dos en una La ilai ila U.

Kudsa beruxu (se) iama,

Sovre el una fama, No ez braza ni flama. La ilai ila U.

U—no ai antes de el, Be so<u>d</u> iesó<u>d</u> era el,

Asré ke save a el.

La ilai ila U.

Todos dešan simaná, Kreen en la emuná, Ven digamos en una: La ilai ila U.

Uno venga a Una,

No ai otro emuná.

Tova, ven i auna! La ilai ila U.

V

The East European Jewries did not remain unaffected by the rising tide of secularisation which was sweeping over Europe. But the new outlook may be said to have been of minor literary importance for them. They did not participate in the Enlightenment literature or in the shaping of its medium of expression, the new anti-mediæval Hebrew which was being created by the Ashkenazim and West European Jewries; nor had they later anything to contribute towards the fully westernised Modern Hebrew literature which was being developed by the Ashkenazim side by side with a rich westernised Yiddish literature. The modest secular literatures they did produce were all written in their own vernaculars.

⁷ Said to refer to Sabbethai Sebhi.

Apart from a few scattered works from the last quarter of the 19th century, the core of Jidyó literature—the section containing fiction—has only come into existence since 1900. There seems to have been a moderate climax in 1912–1913. During the First World War there would appear to have been a complete gap, followed by a period of some activity culminating in 1922–1933.

An analysis of the bibliography previously referred to gives the following figures for other than traditional material: 69 historical and topical writings, 34 books on Zionist and nationalist subjects, 295 under the heading drama, stories and humorous writings, 24 educational works, 85 periodicals, and 34 miscellaneous titles. The total of these figures is double that of the traditional publications, although these cover more centuries than the secular literature does decades.

However, the quantitative superiority in output over the traditional literature does not go hand in hand with qualitative superiority. There is little original work. Most of the works come into the category of translation, adaptation and imitation. are very often French, but they are sometimes in the Modern Hebrew of the last hundred years, in Greek, Italian, German, English, and even Russian. But, as in other literatures, it is the less intrinsically valuable books that are chosen for adoption. However, of good writers, who are more often than not represented by one work only, we might mention Dostoyevsky, the Dumas, father and son, Gladkov, Goethe, Gor'ky, Hugo, Lamartine, Prévost, Sinclair, Sue, and Swift. Among the original works, very little is of specifically Jewish appeal. The majority are centred in a love interest, often of a sensational nature. Here are some typical titles: "The Madman and the Amorous Girl," with the sub-title "A Tragic Love-Story" (Il loku i la iža amuroza. Rumansu tražiku amurozu 1921); "In the Paradise of Love '' (In il paradizu dil amór, 1930); "The Daughter of Two Fathers " (La iža di dos padris, 1907); "Abdul Hamid and his Girl Slaves," with the sweeping sub-title "All the Mysteries of the Palace " (Abdúl Xamíd i sus jariés. Todus lus mistérius dil sarai); "The Dead Woman's Revenge," with the sub-title "A Moving Short Story" (Vingansa di muerta. Nuvela mui izmuvienti, 1901). What appears to be a more harmless group is indicated by such titles as "The Marvellous Adventures of Captain Corcouran" (Maraviozus akuntisimientus di il kapitán Korkurán, 1905) and "The Emperor Joseph " (i.e. Joseph II of Austria) (Il impiradór Juzepu,

It should be mentioned that books are as a rule not published

by special book-publishers, but are first printed as serials and then re-issued by the same firms in book form.

In the small section drama there are a few originals whose very titles show that they are the work of *dilettanti*, and the number of translations is also very small. There is a French Jewish drama by Henri Bernstein, Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet and a fragment from A Comedy of Errors, both in prose, Molière's Le malade imaginaire (Il xazinu imažinadu), and a comedy by the great Yiddish writer Shoolem Alaikhem.

The non-fictional part of modern Jidyó literature is in the main devoted to subjects of Jewish interest, e.g. the section on Zionism, which contains a few propaganda pamphlets and small translations. The same applies to most of the section historical and topical writings. But here we find, too, books on Alexander the Great, Mohammed, Napoleon, Rasputin, Midhat Pasha, and the history of modern Turkey. Books of specifically Sephardic interest are rare: one of them is on (the position of) "Women amongst the Sephardim" (1911). Then there are some local histories of the Jews in various Balkan towns or countries. The section educational is in the main concerned with the acquisition of languages, generally Hebrew.

The periodical press in Jidyó started in 1841 with a weekly in Constantinople. Most periodicals have been short-lived. Some of them were partly in Hebrew as well as in non-Jewish languages. Before the recent war, Salonica had eleven Jewish papers, eight in Judezmo, two in French, one in Greek. Six of these were dailies (four in Judezmo and two in French)—and all that for only a population of 60,000-70,000, including babies. This would correspond to 800 dailies for London. And what is more remarkable is that they circulated at a time when Salonica's decline as a Jewish town was already pretty far advanced. From this it is clear that the press has played an extremely important rôle in the cultural and literary life of the modern Sephardim. It formed the centre of modern literary activity. Among its editors and regular contributors were people like David Fresco, the protagonist of secularisation and the most important journalist and translator of the second half of the 19th century. Abraham Danon, scholar and poet, and Barukh Mitrani, journalist and author.

The present century has produced a couple of serious writers of short stories at Sarajevo and Salonica. But their work is more interesting as milieu-description than as art.

The Mountain Jews have a small secular literature and theatre

in Tatic. Their books, newspapers and periodicals were printed in Roman characters from the nineteen-twenties onwards, when the Soviet government decreed that these were to be used for all the eastern languages of their empire. It is to be presumed, however, that at the present day any publications in Tatic are printed in the Cyrillic alphabet, for during the recent war the Soviet government changed its policy and substituted this for the Latin.

The Crimean Karaites produced a little secular poetry. The Northern Karaites have three writers who, between them, composed poems, plays, fables and translations from Polish and Russian. Only one of them has had a book printed (1904). It is significant that this was no longer in Jewish characters but in Cyrillic. Between the two wars, a monthly in Polish was published. This, too, contained some poetry in Karái, but it was in Roman characters. One of the authors, a Khazzan and teacher, depicted in a harmless little play for school performance the rift between the old, so-called "conservative," and the new, so-called "progressive," generation. His sympathies clearly lay with the latter.

VI

Outside literature proper lie the realms of popular creation—folk-tales, ballads, proverbs.

We have little material from the small groups.

Here, for instance, is the beginning of a song in Yevanic which is sung by the Balkan Karaites when they take leave of the departing Sabbath. In form it resembles the Rabbanite (i.e. non-Karaite) song chanted on Passover evenings.

We come to *One*:
One is God.
Everything sings and says:
One is God.
We come to *Two*:
Two partridges were chosen,
Chosen was the nightingale.⁸
Everything sings and says:
One is God.

Irtamen so ena—
Enas ine o teos.
Panda keledi ke leyi—
Enas ine o teos.
Irtamen sta dio.
Dio prikes dialegunden.
Dialegunden to aidunaki.
Panda keledi ke leyi—
Enas ine o teos.

And here is a fairy-tale of the Mountain Jews in Tatic, called "The Miraculous Candle-Stick":

There was once a man and his wife who had no children. One day a guest came and said: "You are going to have a child." "Good,"

⁸ The partridges and the nightingale are said to refer to Moses and Aaron.

said the man. "But there is this," said the stranger: "the child will stay with you for seven years, and then I shall take him." "Very well," said the man.

The child was born. After seven years their guest returned and took the child. As they were walking, the boy asked the man: "Where are you leading me?" "Don't be afraid," said the man, "there is a reason for it." "All right," said the child.

The man took him to a field where there was a great castle and said: "Go into the castle. There you will see a girl on a couch. Don't look at her. Look to the right, where you will see a wrapped-up candlestick. Take it and come back to me. I shall then send you home to your father."

The child entered the house. There was the girl. He did not look at her, but went straight up to the candlestick and took it. As he was going out, the girl caught sight of him and clapped her hands. Two attendants appeared and asked: "What is your wish?" The girl replied: "Seize this child and fling him into the garden. And seize the man who brought him, toss him up and tear him to pieces." They grabbed the child, flung him into the garden, and seized the man, tossed him up and tore him to pieces. The child wept. The garden was very large and he strayed about. "Where can I get out?" he thought. He came to a fence and saw a door, and behind it water like the sea. "How shall I get out?" he thought. He noticed a chunk of wood with a big hole in it and said to himself: "I shall get into that log and float on the water." He got into the hole and floated very far until he noticed that the log was not moving. He opened his eyes and saw that it was on the ground. A woman and a man were coming along the seashore collecting firewood. They saw him getting out of the log, took fright and ran away. "Don't run away, I am a human being," cried the child. The man and woman went to him and asked: "What were you doing there?" The boy replied: "I was brought here and thrown out." They said to him: "Come with us, we shall look after you." "All right," he said and went with them.

He stayed with them for a week and then he said: "Have you got any money?" "Yes," said the man. "Give me some," he said. "I'll go to a village and build myself a house there."

The man took out some money and gave it to the boy. With it he went to a certain village and built a house—four walls with windows but no roof, for his money was all gone. He went to his foster-father and wept (saying): "My money is all gone, and the house has not got a roof yet." The man turned him out.

The boy sat down in the porch. Night fell, it became pitch dark. The boy knocked at the door: "Have pity, give me a bit of candle." The man took a light and gave it to him. The boy looked for something to put the candle into, but could not find anything. He put his hand into his pocket—and became aware of the candlestick he had

taken from the girl. He took it out, lit the candle and put it into the candlestick

As soon as he had done so, forty girls appeared. One played on a zurna, another on a ghumuz, and the others danced. Their leader brought a hundred tomans to the boy, put them down and went away.

The boy was astounded and quickly extinguished the light, putting the money into his pocket. The girls disappeared.

The boy laughed. He went to the house and knocked at the door: "Get up, I'll give you back your money." His foster-father got up, opened the door, counted the money and took it. The boy shook hands with him: "Farewell. I am leaving." He went and continued building his house.

He bought a pound of candles and took them home. He lit a candle and put it into the candlestick. The same girls once more appeared, one placed a hundred tomans before him and went, while the others danced. When his pound of candles was gone, the boy had twenty thousand tomans.

He now went to the king's palace. A man was standing at the gate. "Are you a guard?" asked the boy. The man replied: "I am a royal soldier." The boy asked: "How much do you get a month?" The soldier said: "Five roubles." "Here are twenty roubles for you," said the boy, "and let me go into the garden." The soldier took the money and allowed him to enter the garden.

The boy walked round, sat down under a tree, took out his candlestick, put it in front of him, and lit a candle. The girls appeared and danced, and one of them came and laid a hundred tomans before him. A maid in the service of the king's daughter saw the boy, ran to the princess and cried: "There is a boy in our garden. He lit a candle and some girls came dancing out of it." The princess replied: "Oh, let's go and steal the candlestick."

They went behind the boy who was asleep. The princess quietly took the candlestick and ran away with it. When the boy awoke and missed the candlestick he started looking round for it. He could not find it and so he returned home.

The princess went to her father and said: "Call all the nobles together! I have something wonderful to show them." The king assembled them, and all his people gathered at the palace. His daughter appeared, put down the candlestick, went and brought a candle, lit it and put it in. The moment she lit it, two men came out of the candlestick, with hammers in their hands. The first started hitting the people on one side, and the second hit those on the other. They blinded some and smashed the heads of others. The people started stampeding. When one of the two men saw the king running away, he picked up a piece of wood and struck him over the back of his neck. The king fell and was hardly able to get up. A hajji who had been sitting among the people started running, and they beat him up too. The hajji's head

fell against the candlestick, and the light went out. The people were saved.

The king drove his daughter out of the house, crying: "Why did you have my people beaten up?" He then ordered a proclamation to be made throughout the villages: "Let anyone who has lost a candlestick come to me."

When the owner of the candlestick heard that, he quickly went to the palace. The king had had nine other candlesticks made, exactly like the first. He brought them and put all ten of them together in front of the boy, saying: "If you recognise your candlestick, I'll give you a hundred tomans." The boy picked out his candlestick and the king said: "If something good comes out of your candlestick, I'll give you my daughter, and if something bad, I'll kill you." "All right," said the boy.

The king assembled all the people. The boy lit the candle, and straightway forty girls appeared. One played on a zurna, the others danced. Their leader placed a hundred tomans before the boy.

Thus it was they spent the night, and in the morning the king gave his daughter to the boy in marriage. The wedding was celebrated a whole week. He lived happily ever after.

Our next specimen comes from Yevanic folk poetry. It is the beginning of a Purim song from Yanina and Arta.*

Move, tongue, to speak, To tell of miracles, To rouse sleepers, To make them drunk with wine. Go, drink and be intoxicated, Be exceeding merry. Forget not God, Tell of the salvation he [has wrought for us]. Bestow gifts, Be exceeding merry, Forget not the orphan, Praise ye all God, Invite the rich and the needy, Bestow gifts! From [Israel']s affliction [God] created his cure So that he might not perish (? i zimia [But] survive through His liberation.

Esther, the honoured one,

K'ina glosa na milis tamazmata na moloyis kimimenus na ksipnis me krasi na tus metyis. pate pyete k'i mitate k'i poli xarokupate, ton tigo min alizmonate, ti liftirya tu mologate.

k'i miradya provodate k'i poli xarokupate, orfanus min alizmonate oli ton tigo pinate pəlusus k'i ftuxus kalnate k'i miradya provodate. ombros ox ti varimatya tu eftyasi tin yatria tu k'i was lipse izmrtya tu

na vreti ya ti liftirya tu. i ester i timimeni

^{*} British Museum MS. Oriental 5742.

Nurtured in fragrance,

As soon as she was told,
When the decree was issued
By Haman, the foe,
She sent Hathoch forth
To seek a remedy.
He went to consult with Mordecai
And to put raiment on him.
Mordecai refused it with wisdom,
To save Israel was his only thought.

Esther, the honoured one, Having fasted for three days, Clad in royal robes, Leaning on her attendant maidens, Goes forth to invite the king, In order to beseech him, Over the wine to beguile him And to fall at his feet.

The foe also she brought [there], To unmask him [was her purpose].

k'i sto mosko anatrimeni De leyi apotyinameni oti etsi parangelmeni pondas ivyik'i ton firmani tu aman tu dusimani, estili ton atox na pani ya na kami ena dirmani. to mordexai payi na rotisi k'i mi ruxa na ton disi. den ta dextek'i me tin krisi mon ton yisrael na glisi.

i ester i timimeni tris imeres nistimeni, sta vasilika 'ndimeni, k'i stes sklaves akumbimeni, ton vasilya pai na klesi ya na ton perikalesi sto krasi na ton planesi ki sta podarya tu na pesi. ipire ke to dusimani na ton esi sto meydani, etc.

There are folk-tales (kunsežas), folk-songs, and ballads (rumansus) in Jidyó. We might mention in passing that they do not bear comparison for variety or numbers with those in Yiddish.

The ballads fall into two groups—a Jewish and a non-Jewish Those in the latter were adopted in mediæval times by the Jews in the Iberian Peninsula from their Christian neighbours. They are historical ballads, songs from the Roland cycle, etc. The majority of the rumansus have to-day no parallels or variants in the Peninsula, having died out there long ago. But, from the small number of those of common ancestry which are still alive in Spain, it may be seen that the Jewish songs have undergone many changes in the course of centuries: stanzas have been either arranged in a different order or lost altogether, and new ones have been added. In some cases considerable deviation has been caused by the fact that Jewish religious ideas have, naturally, left their imprint. Another difference is in the language. Although archaisms are present, the rumansus are not in mediæval Spanish, but on the whole—in phonology, morphology, vocabulary and semantics—in present-day Jidyó.

Here is a specimen of a Jewish ballad:

Beautiful Dinah went for a walk Si paséia la linda diná Through the fields of King Hamor. pur lus kampus dil rei xamór.

Thanks to her twelve brothers She walked without fear. She came to a tent. Thinking no one was there. But she had been seen, seen By Shechem, the son of King Hamor. You are beautiful, O beautiful Dinah.

Without make-up and without paint,

Handsome are your brothers.

You have taken the flower. (?)

a favór di sus dodzi irmanus kaminava sin timór. arrimó si a una tienda pinsandu ki non ai varón,vistu la uviera, vistu, sixém, fižu dil rei xamór.

44I

linda soš, la linda diná,

sin aféiti i sin kulór,

lindus son vuestrus irmanus, la flor vus iivatiš vos.

With this enigmatic line our fragment, unfortunately, ends.

The majority of folk-songs are, however, connected with the sphere of the family. Here is one sung at the celebration on the birth of a boy:9

Oh what a bright morning Has dawned here! Oh what good fortune Has brought us here to-day! I have come with a message, Because I ventured it. (?) In three years hence, it will be better. (?) The father got up

One bright morning (And came) to the door of the syna-Oh, the dawn has come to him there.

In his hand a golden book, Oh, he sings goodly benedictions, Because a welcome one was born to

May she bear children for yet many ki luz muncus ánius li para! a year!

Ai, ki manianika klara amanisíia pur akí! ai, ki ventura la muestra oi mus trušu pur akí! pur mandadu vini akí, in ki xuí mui arružadu, di oi in tres ániuz mižuradu.

si livantó siniór paridu in un manianika klara a la puerta di la isnoga,

ai, aií si li alburiaríia livru di oru in la su manu, ai, buenaz biraxó kantava, dondi li nasi un buen vinidu.

Our next specimen is a girl's song: 10

Mother, my mother, Give me a husband. I am already Fifteen years old!

Madri, la mi madri, deméš mi maridu. ki lus kindzi ánius iá lus tengu kumplidus.

<sup>A. Danon, "Recueil de romances judeo-espagnoles, chantées en Turquie," Revue des Études Juives, vol. 33, p. 139 (1896).
A. Galante, op. cit., p. 136.</sup>

Already, already!
May it all be of happy omen to us!

iá, iá, todu mus séia di buén simán!

Daughter, my daughter, Be not troubled, I shall give you A rich boy all right. Already, etc. fiža, la mi fiža, no tengas pinsériu, ki ió iá ti dava un riku mansevu. iá, etc.

Mother, my mother, Give me a hubby, Because I have already Reached my fifteenth year! Already, etc. madri, la mi madri, deméš mi viladu, ki lus kindzi ánius iá lus tengu aiigadus. iá, etc.

Daughter, my daughter, Be not troubled, I shall give you A rich hubby all right. Already, etc. fiža, la mi fiža, no tengas kudiadu, ki ió iá ti dava un riku viladu. iá, etc.

Our final specimen ¹¹ is a sort of dialogue, the refrain being sung by the chorus. It is modelled on an old popular form: each new line is incorporated into the refrain. The first two stanzas and the final one are given here, and in between the new lines only, so as to render the final stanza intelligible.

I. Tell me, O bride,
What is that head called?
It is not called head,
But orange from the orange-tree.
O my orange from the orange-tree.

Dizi la muestra nóvia, komu si iama esta kavesa? estu no si iama kavesa, sinó turonža di turunžál.

O my spacious field,
O my sweet beloved boy—
Long live the bride and the groom.

a mi turonža di turunžál, a mi kampu ispasiozu, a mi lindu namurozu biva la nóvia kun il nóviu!

Tell me, O bride,
 What is that hair called?
 It is not called hair,
 But golden embroidery-thread.
 O my golden embroidery-thread,
 O my orange from the orange-tree,
 O my spacious field,
 O my sweet beloved boy—
 Long live the bride and the groom.

Dizi la muestra nóvia, komu si iaman estus kavéius? estus no si iaman kavéius, sinó brilis di lavrár. a mis brilis di lavrár, a mi turonža di turunžál, a mi kampu ispasiozu, a mi lindu namurozu biva la nóvia kun il nóviu!

11 A. Galante, op. cit., pp. 137-38.

We shall now give the new lines only:

- 3. It is not called forehead, But shining sword.
- 4. It is not called eye-brow, But archer's bow.
- 5. These are not called eyes, But rich emeralds,
- 6. It is not called nose, But writing pen.
- 7. These are not called cheeks, But rich marzipan.
- 8. These are not called lips, But rich corals.
- 9. These are not called teeth But string of pearls.
- 10. It is not called tongue, But shovelling shovel.
- II. It is not called neck, But silver vase
- 12. It is not called chest, But counting slab.

And the final stanza:

13. Tell me, O bride,

What are these breasts called? These are not called breasts, But citrus of the citrus tree.

- O my citrus of the citrus tree,
- O my counting slab,
- O my silver vase,
- O my shovelling shovel,
- O my string of pearls,
- O my rich corals,
- O my rich marzipan,
- O my writing pen,
- O my rich emeralds,
- O my archer's bow,
- O my shining sword,
- O my golden embroidery-thread
- O my orange from the orangetree,
- O my spacious field,
- O my sweet beloved boy—

Long live the bride and the groom.

Estu no si iama frenti, sinó ispada rilusienti. estu no si iama seža, sinó arcól di tirár. estu no si iama ožus, sinó rikus izmiraldaris. estu no si iama nariz, sinó péndula di iskrivír. estu no si iaman karas, sinó rikus masapanis. estu no si iaman besus, sinó rikus mirjanis. estu no si iaman dientis, sinó perlas di infilár. estu no si iama alguenga, sinó pala di infurnár. estu no si iama garganta, sinó ridoma di plata. estu no si iama picadura, sinó tayla di kuntár.

Dizi la muestra nóvia, Komu si iaman estus pecus? Estu no si iaman pecus Si no limonis dil limunár.

A mis limonis dil limunár, A mi tavla di kuntár,

A mi ridoma di plata,

A mi pala di infurnár,

A mis perlas di infilár, A mis rikus mirjanis,

A mis rikus masapanis

A mi pendula di iskrivír,

A mis rikus izmiraldaris,

A mi arkól di tirár,

A mi ispada rilusienti,

A mis brilis di lavrár,

A mi turonža di turunžál,

A mi kampu ispasiozu, A mi lindu namurozu— Biva la nóvia kun il nóviu!

SOLOMON A. BIRNBAUM.